2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

In Spanish days, however, it was the individual who was punished and usually by whipping. It is hard to be positive that whipping is a foreign institution yet it seems likely since the Papago are chary of physical contact especially in public. This may seem surprising in a society where ten or more people could live and sleep in a one-room house, but one may conjecture that it is an avoidance generated by that very fact. They maneuver without touching one another where Europeans, who have more privacy, are continually doing so. They did not, anciently, slap or whip children. It is to be expected that a people with this attitude would object to corporal punishment, particularly when they have cultivated such a violent sensitiveness and openness to humiliation. The missionaries, on the contrary, whipped their neophytes as they would whip the children they considered them to be. That the Papago should have been willing to adopt this system is the surprising thing. We may lay it to the extreme prestige of these givers of wheat and horses, and also to the fact that the native selected to dispense whipping felt himself raised to the supernatural power of the priests. Certainly the institution of whipping grew, from the eight stripes delivered by the *alcalde* for drunkeness or absence from mass to a standardized penalty for all misdemeanors, sometimes including murder. Those which were mentioned as always whipped fall under the heading of sins in the Christian sense. A list of these offenses and their penalties follow:

Murder: The chief would have the murderer whipped and force him to make restitution in property.

Adultery: Both offenders whipped and the wife sent back to her husband.

Quarrels between spouses: Either a wife or a husband might complain of the other's laziness, cruelty or light conduct and have the offender whipped.

Disobedience of children: Parents might complain of laziness or light conduct, particularly in a daughter, or of her disobedience in not taking a husband. Some cases are reported where the chief felt that the parents had been in the wrong and had them whipped instead of the child.

Slander: All reports of misconduct were investigated and if, they proved untrue, those who had spread the rumor were whipped, whether male or female.

There follows a provision heard from only one informant and showing an interesting combination of the old and the new systems.

> If a father failed to have the puberty ceremony for his daughter at the proper time, he should be whipped. If he proved that he had not been told, the mother was punished instead. (26)

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

463 787 trader, runner, gambler, shaman or lay curer. For two of these activities, that of the shaman and the lay curer, dream power was essential. For several it was out of the picture. These were the hereditary offices of Keeper of the Meeting and ceremonial officiants where the emphasis was on learning a task from a predecessor. In contrast to the Yuman attitude, proficiency was enough without dream confirmation. Planting, the task of everyone, was outside the need for dream power and was taken care of by standardized magic practices ordained for the whole community. Trading, although it might seem the place where initiative and energy (that is, power) would be called for, is never mentioned.

There remain the activities where chance plays a large part: hunting, racing, gambling and war. Here there were magic group rituals but also the individual could gain much with the aid of a Visitant. The aid was not essential: a crack deer hunter has told me that he never had a dream in his life (22). Certainly the youth who failed to dream did not feel agonized and frustrated. But I [157] relate this fact, not to a lack of desire to dream, but to the fact that the Papago is not avid for power. He has some of the Pueblo abhorrence for the idea of prominence and he feels quite content to be an undistinguished member of "the kin".

787 The subject of dreaming should receive its detailed treatment in connection with the supernatural but no discussion of social or economic life can omit some reference to it. Mention has already been made of the way in which a boy was urged from infancy to invite a supernatural Visitant by the practice of the standard virtues, of which fleetness of foot was the chief. Constant frugality was enjoined but he did not definitely fast and he never implored. The Visitant came unasked. The visitation occurred in natural sleep or during the state of exhaustion after running.

When a boy reached young manhood, there were other avenues of approach to the supernatural. The retreat of the Enemy Slayer after killing has been mentioned, with the fact that this gave power not so much for war as for curing. There were two other activities which were thought to bring their participants into almost as close a connection with dangerous power as enemy slaying. These were the ceremonial fetching of salt from the Gulf of California and the killing of an eagle.

After each of these the neophyte went into a retreat similar to that of the Enemy Slayer, though not quite so rigorous, and he was called by the same term, possibly meaning Powerful. During this time he had the dreams that ensured future prowess. A Visitant often sang to him and took him on a journey which might have

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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PEOPLE ON THE DESERT

Like many other Indians, the Papago are a young people. About 40 per cent of those living on the three reservations in 1942 were under eighteen years of age. The average age of males was twenty-three years and of females twenty-one.[3]

Costumes are not so colorful as those of some Arizona and New Mexico tribes such as the Navaho. Most of the older women wear the ankle-length Mother Hubbard cotton dress with loose blouse used by many older Indian and Mexican women in the Southwest and in Sonora. With this they wear a shawl or *rebozo* usually wrapped tightly around the head with an end hanging down the back, rather than loosely draped and allowed to fall over the shoulders. Younger women and girls wear cotton or rayon dresses in contemporary American style. Fiesta dresses are more colorful, and one occasionally sees the brilliant rayons which added splashes of color to gatherings in former years. Males from the age of one to one hundred wear denim or khaki pants with shirts of cotton for work and bright rayon for festive occasions, kerchiefs about the neck, with brimmed felt hats, and cowboy boots if they can possibly afford them. Some of the educated men have American-style "business suits" for trips off the Reservation. Good clothes, particularly shoes, are bought when there is cash on hand, and a man may spend considerable sums on hats and boots. Even in the conservative western districts of the Reservation, the people buy American clothing, often quite "fancy," for the children and young people. Papago believe clothing should be neat, clean, and modest but not necessarily sober; they all want to "look nice" before other people.

Typically the Papago move with a slow dignity and grace, and only in near-emergency situations does the word "hurry" have any meaning for them. A rider who runs his horse when he is not roping or running cattle is almost certain to elicit the comment, "Oh, he's drunk."

From early childhood the Papago is taught to be quiet, self-contained, and not to become angry. A reserved person whose equanimity is difficult to shake, he expresses opposition or resentment quietly, for he believes in discussion without argument and angry words. He does not ask direct questions or make statements directly; a question is asked through a circumlocution, and answers are given in the same manner. To white people it sometimes sounds like speech in parables, but to a Papago the meaning is perfectly clear. The curiosity of white people often causes difficulty between them and the Indians. Questioning about unimportant things the Papago regard as rather humorous, but queries about their personal affairs seem to them extremely bad taste.

3. Population data from United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Program, Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona*; see also chaps. v and vii below.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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576 queries about their personal affairs seem to them extremely bad taste. The Papago like privacy and respect the same desire for it in others.

157 Despite their quiet and controlled behavior, there is nothing somber or
521 morose about the Desert People nor do they lack interest in what goes on around them. They are extremely observant and curious about details. With their friends they gossip constantly, but to be vindictive or to show off is not regarded with approval.

609 Though the reserve with which Papago greet a white stranger is often called
522 "stolid" by people who do not know them, facial expressions are pleasant. Among themselves they laugh at the endless joking that goes on among family members, over a comic incident, a child's improper behavior, a misstatement, or their own embarrassment. They love to sing, and, in any Papago group, smiles and laughter are constant accents to conversation.

431 Gifts serve as acknowledgment among the Desert People for their language has no phrase for "thank you"; too, they give because they like giving, and the person who does not is thought to be not quite Papago.

THE DESERT

133 It is no wonder that the Papago were not pushed off their land as were many other Indians. This area is one of the hottest and driest in the country, a land in which, with experience and hard work, a family can make a living; but it offers little in the way of surplus.

The Papago country, often referred to by its Spanish name of Papaguería, is a part of what natural scientists call the Lower Sonoran Desert, an area extending north and east to the Mongollon Rim in Arizona, westward into southeastern California, and southward along the western coast of Sonora and Sinaloa in Mexico. It is characterized by a basin and range topography, extreme drought and torrential rainfall, and great changes in daily and seasonal temperatures. A series of small ranges of rugged mountains run roughly northwest to southeast, with wide alluvial valleys marked by networks of washes or arroyos.[4] Elevation of valley floors varies from 1,400 to 2,600 feet, but the mountains on the whole are not high enough to affect rainfall except for the Baboquivaris on the eastern edge, where the tallest peak reaches 7,740 feet and seems to keep all the surrounding desert under its eye.

132 Rainfall in Papaguería is not only scarce but unpredictable. Rains come in the winter months and again from July through September. The gentle winter rains fall steadily over the whole area, sometimes for several days at a time,

4. A wash or arroyo is a stream channel which carries water only after the rains. Water rushing down the wash rapidly covers adjacent lands in what are known as flash floods.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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164 X-ray examinations, and laboratory tests, they would certainly be cause for alarm. Though the incidence of tuberculosis among Papago children is unknown, in view of the number of adult Papago who fill the sanatoriums of Tucson and Phoenix (and who are recruited only from the few who submit to white medical treatment) even the rate of 10 cases per 100 children may be conservative.[1]

Another disease usually considered a curse of the Indian is trachoma, a contagious disease of the eyes which may lead to impairment of vision and, occasionally, even to blindness. Many Papago old people are afflicted, but since the discovery of treatment by sulfa drugs, which can easily be administered at school, the incidence of trachoma has dropped steeply among school-age children all over the Reservation. Thus only 17.7 per cent of the Papago children studied were suffering from active trachoma, while about the same percentage showed the disease in an arrested state.

There are other Indian tribes, like the Hopi, among which this disease has been much more nearly eradicated. The Papago, who leave the Reservation in great numbers to work for several months each year in the cotton fields where organized health service is lacking, are much more exposed to reinfection than those tribes which, firmly settled, stay a lifetime in their reservation villages.

Impetigo, a staphylococcus infection of the skin, was until a few years ago a widespread disease among Papago children. The writer recalls that even in 1941 on field trips and in the clinic of the hospital at Sells she saw a large number of children literally covered with impetigo sores. Owing to the very active campaign against impetigo undertaken by the health and school authorities of the Reservation and to the co-operation of all day-school teachers in its treatment, it is now rarely found among children of school age, though every year the return of a large number of children from the cotton fields results in a new outbreak. Among the children examined in this survey who had remained at home or who were in boarding school, only 7.1 per cent had impetigo. In all cases the disease was limited to one or a few sores. Though even a rate of 7.1 per cent may appear high, it constitutes a tremendous improvement over previous conditions.

164 These are the essential findings of the physical examinations used in the survey. Before reviewing them, it may be of interest to note that none of the 157 children volunteered complaints about their health. Nor did they come forward, when asked, with tales of headaches, upset stomach, or previous diseases. All of them said point-blank that they were and always had been perfectly healthy. Recalling the attitude of the average adult Papago at the Sells hos-

1. The high rate of death from tuberculosis among the Papago as a whole is noted in chap. vii.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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pital—quiet, dignified, and uncomplaining even when in acute pain—and remembering his reluctance to give information about his illness, the writer feels that the children responded according to the same pattern. That this attitude is not identical with a lack of concern about health we shall see later when discussing the results of the psychological tests.

When a California faith healer visited the Papago Reservation in 1941, large crowds from all sections came to see her and to be cured by her, in spite of the opposition of the Catholic church. Like Papago medicine men, who do not ask questions but by magic means acquire knowledge about the cause and course of an illness, this woman did not ask for information; the Papagos apparently thought she already knew the history of their illnesses through an inherent supernatural power. Here we get an inkling of the deep-seated difference between Papago reactions and attitudes and those usually found within the area of white culture.

We also see how our knowledge about these people would fall short if we relied only upon direct information. According to such information, all the children who were examined never had been sick or, at least, never had felt sick, though a number of them were known to have been treated by white physicians for various ailments. Therefore, if we wanted to establish, beyond the crude findings of the physical examinations, how far these children are in fact resistant to physical hardships and exposure, we should have to resort to statistical data furnished by the health service and based upon medical observation over a long period. At present this is not possible, since a relatively small part of the Papago population asks for white medical attention. The writer can only say that, during her stay on the Reservation as a field physician, the reported and observed number of school children with acute respiratory disorders and the seasonal incidence of the various childhood diseases impressed her as rather high.

The actual findings about the health of Papago school children are not too encouraging; they are far from the ideal standards of physical health postulated by modern science. Disregarding the tuberculosis suspects, no chronic debilitating diseases were prevalent. But the fact that almost half the children were more or less undernourished and about the same number showed signs of vitamin deficiencies seems ground enough for concern, particularly if we also take into consideration the physical hardships and exposures to which these children normally have to submit. That we cannot count upon an automatic increase of resistance in response to this constant exposure is evident from the high incidence of acute respiratory diseases in Papago children, especially in winter, and from the ravages of contagious childhood diseases like

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Chapter XVII

BENEATH THE SURFACE

AFTER examining Papago children's reactions and attitudes as they are manifest in answer to direct questions, we tried to find out whether these admitted attitudes are anchored in certain traits of their personality structures, and, if so, to what extent. What is the average pattern of Papago children's personalities? Which are the essential driving forces for their behavior? How are they able to control their impulses, and which ways of defense do they adopt toward inner and outer conflicts?

A child's statements that he is happy when he goes to a fiesta, sad about the death of a family member, or afraid of an owl, and that working and being lazy are his most important standards for "good" and "bad" behavior, give certain clues to his experiences and interests. But they do not reveal whether he is dominated by his impulses or dominates them, whether he is outgoing or withdrawn, daring or cautious, matter-of-fact or imaginative, self-confident or full of anxiety. Only within the configuration of such traits and their proportional weight do the clues gain importance.

For an approach to the personality configuration of Papago children two projective tests were used—the "ink blots" of the Rorschach Psychodiagnostic Test and Murray's Thematic Apperception Test—both of which have been employed during recent years with increasing success for the personality diagnosis of normal and psychopathic individuals in various institutions for psychological research and in hospitals. Both tests reveal traits, reactions, and attitudes as they are unknowingly "projected" by the tested person into his interpretation of the test material.

According to the Rorschach test, the average pattern of Papago children's personalities is characterized by the following features:

1. Papago children's average personality structure reveals no elaborate complexity of traits or subtle differentiation of existing traits.
2. Papago children show spontaneity, limited range but intensity of emotions, a relatively precarious control and discipline, and a peculiar swing between realistic participation in the life about them and extreme withdrawal.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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3. Against outer and inner conflicts they seem to defend themselves essentially by evasion and by subjective interpretation of facts and feelings.
4. Though they are able to form clear concepts and to categorize them, the children reveal a tendency to disregard this capacity, enforcing their associative thoughts upon objects of reality. Thus their intellectual approach seems to be largely subjective interpretation, instead of objective and analytical.

These findings and various concomitant ones will be combined in an attempt to develop a picture of the average Papago child's personality and to discover the cultural factors which help to determine this specific personality formation.[1]

The description of Papago child-training in Part II emphasized the almost complete indulgence of the small child, the liberty of action and decision in vital matters granted to all children, and the Papago methods of discipline: co-operative work, rules of seniority, and fear of the supernatural.

As previously noted, the life-situation of the child after babyhood is very similar to that of adult family members. There is no neat distinction between the reactions and attitudes expected from children and those expected from adults. Though a gradual growth in wisdom is generally assumed and demanded, and the right of decision and free action gradually increases, this process does not stop at maturity; the man of forty as well as the boy of ten listens to the advice of the seventy-year-old head of the family.

The Papago view and organization of life does not distinguish definite developmental phases. Even the very young child is drawn into the co-operative working group with small tasks which increase with advancing age. There are apparently no rites of initiation into adulthood except those for girls entering puberty.

Within the household there is no definite distinction of roles except according to sex. Though the greater weight of authority is on the side of the males, the areas of influence granted to each sex are fluid; they overlap and vary from one family group to the other with the constellation of personalities. In this moderately patriarchal co-operative working group, the accent is more on the co-operative quality than on the patriarchal. The amount of work required from each sex reveals no one-sided exploitation.

The family discipline pattern is characterized by its application to all members alike, regardless of age. There are practically no tales, teachings, or restrictive rules of behavior especially devised for a childish mind. The child who

1 The reader will observe that the analysis of the results of this test is not documented with tables as is the case with tests previously discussed. This is because tables dealing with Rorschach materials are highly technical. Data on the Papago Rorschach results are included in a forthcoming monograph by Irving Hallowell, Royal B. Hassrick, William E. Henry, Alice Joseph, Bruno Klopfer, and Dorothea C. Leighton, "American Indian Rorschach Studies."

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is warned of the sickness-conveying breath of an animal knows that his elders truly believe what they are telling him and that they are conscientiously observing their own warnings. The child who has to interrupt his play to work in the fields or at home sees his parents doing the same kind of work. He himself will eat the wheat he has sown and drink the water he has hauled. He may always be sure that his parents will not call him away from play and give him some task that is meaningless just "to keep him out of mischief." So he realizes that any restrictive and frustrating work is a burden shared by the grown-ups. This sharing of children and adults in common disciplinary experiences probably has a decisive influence on the quality of interpersonal relations within the family group. It also considerably reduces the authoritative, coercive pressure felt and realized by the child.

Open authoritative coercion is represented in the Papago pattern of discipline only in the rules of seniority. Actually, direct coercion based upon the rights of seniority is usually neither harsh nor one-sided; or is it even consistent. It is ordinarily expressed by means of patient, verbal persuasion; it leaves open wide possibilities of appeal to higher instances; and it is so little formalized that not rarely an individual with a strong personality may get the better of the authoritarian rights of his senior.

The social sanction of ridicule, in use among relatives and nonrelatives, is an indirect means of coercion of considerable importance. This sanction, however, seems to be employed without extreme severity or viciousness. Distance between the household units may itself have prevented further development of this restrictive device because its effectiveness depends primarily upon the individual's constant exposure to close scrutiny by a compact group of people, against whose opinion any personal counterattack is hopeless.

This low-pressure discipline has apparently been very adequate for producing personalities capable of coping with living conditions in the southern Arizona desert. A more severe and formalized system would possibly have hampered the life of mobile defense the Papago had to lead. For centuries seminomadic, moving between their mountain homes and the valleys according to the changing water supply, they needed their youngsters helpful and compliant, but not a submissive burden, dependent upon constant direction or firmly tied to a system of rules and laws which could not possibly be kept functioning during the hazards of their semiannual treks.

Industriousness is extremely desirable, but work under the glaring sun of southern Arizona requires patient and willing perseverance, not as does the tense rhythm of seasonal work, strict training in co-ordination, and accuracy.

Coherence of the family as a working group is necessary, but in this sparsely

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155 populated country, where a lone man runs the risk of starvation, the natural
157 bonds of emotional attachment do not have to be rigidly enforced by a centralized authoritative system.

The training given to Papago children with regard to dangers which may threaten their life and well-being has also probably been largely determined by the environment. The wide desert with its sparse vegetation of cacti and low brush, with its rim of moderately high mountain chains, with its poor water supply and a temperature rising in summer to 120 degrees Fahrenheit, has at once protected and exposed its inhabitants through times immemorable.

It has protected them from close and constant pressure of outside enemies and has exposed them to those comparatively few who, like the Apache, were daring enough to break into this country of little promise and great menace. Without natural strongholds steadfast resistance was no defense. Though there are still remnants in the desert of crude walls behind which several Papago groups attempted to defend themselves, their major defense apparently lay in escape. Again and again whole family units threatened by raiding Apache left the sites of their villages and settled in distant parts of the desert.

Even today, when the Papago expect a visitor from the Agency whom they fear or dislike, they may leave their houses and hide in the mountains until they feel safe again.

Factors of simultaneous protection and exposure are also present in the daily life of those who call the desert their home. The desert's vastness alone provides security in cases of localized famine, drought, and epidemics, for almost always means of subsistence can be found in other valleys or in the mountains. On the other hand; sudden dangers which could not be prevented by prevision and planning have been a constant threat: dangerous snakes and insects, prolific in the desert, may injure the most cautious and careful. As the Papago evade enemy attacks, so they try to avoid the unmanageable dangers of daily life. In discussing Papago children's reactions to frightening experiences, we have already noted the apparent strength of this trend, and we have seen that it goes with the tendency to interpret danger as a manifestation of supernatural and magical forces.

Not only the obviously and physically harmful are avoided; the chipmunk, the rabbit, one's own dog, and even the beloved horse may unpredictably turn into a supernatural agent dealing out misery and death.

In this system of child-training, the imbuement of everything outside of family and friends with potentially menacing traits probably enormously increases the security the child finds in the family and, at the same time, produces from an early age the constant defensive awareness and caution neces-

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sary for survival in the desert. The magical interpretation of dangers very probably prevents this device from harmfully inhibiting individual liberty of action, as far as this is desirable in Papago society. Every event being two-faced (i.e., having both simple objective reality and potential supernatural significance which of itself implies danger), man's attitude toward it will be cautious awareness but not discouragement. The chances are that, if he behaves appropriately and is a good Papago, the supernatural will not act.

If, with these implications of Papago child-training in mind, we turn back to the picture of average personality structure presented by the Rorschach test, we find that Papago children indeed seem to be influenced by the factors we have mentioned.

They show a comparative simplicity of traits and reactions which may be a result of little differentiated outside and inside pressure. In this respect, Papago children of high and low intelligence, of outgoing or withdrawn type, closely resemble one another. Emotional development appears as an increase in depth of the same emotions and attitudes rather than as a widening in reactions and outlook.

Quite vivacious and spontaneous in their emotions, Papago children display toward the world and its stimulations an attitude strangely composed of acceptance and rejection. This attitude of rejection, however, seems to be quite easily broken down or abandoned at will. Such rather precarious resistance to a tempting or irritating world is evidently their primary means of curbing drives which become too strong or too disturbing. In the light of child-training pattern, which aims at smooth co-operation without enforcing strict obedience, the relative lack of specific means of self-control regarding social relations is not surprising; satisfactory adjustment to Papago society is apparently possible without it.

The children's tendency to shut themselves off from the outside world by bluntly rejecting it may be closely related to the following findings. Papago children, more than any of the five Indian tribes studied, are inclined to get caught by their own imaginations, into which they withdraw. These fancies frequently seem to be an almost automatic association, loosely connected to reality. Therefore, they are likely to appear irrational, vaguely defined, and diffuse.

This trait is quite different from the escapist's withdrawal into a fantasy world of his own or from the introvert's controlling his conflicts by means of a strongly developed inner life. It resembles more closely the psychological state of a seer or medium and seems to be related to that peculiar infusion of reality with supernatural and magical concepts which is an important part of Papago

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life and child-training. Apparently it operates as an almost automatic control in occasions of stress and conflict. In this sort of withdrawal which usually appears to be an intermittent reaction, not a definite introversion, the Papago child temporarily stops functioning as a social being and—quite legitimately according to his culture—isolates his personal drives of disturbing strength or direction in his imaginings.

Together with this reaction goes a tendency to evade commitments whenever possible. If pressed for decision, the children try to withdraw into themselves or appease the demanding agent with what they think is the minimum that may satisfy him and that may be conceded without exposing themselves. This trend, as we have noted, corresponds to an important function in Papago culture.

The most interesting result obtained with the Rorschach test is with regard to Papago children's mental approach, which is characterized by a strong drive to impose subjective interpretation upon reality and to avoid categorizing. We have already seen that the basis of this quality probably lies in the fusion of magical thought and reality in Papago culture, and we may assume that it is closely interrelated with the tendency to yield to imagining, as well as with the particular nature of the things imagined.

The influence which such findings may have upon the evaluation of the results of the Grace Arthur intelligence test is perhaps worth some consideration. According to the Rorschach test, aside from the tendency to avoid categorizing, Papago children seem to be capable of forming clear, objective concepts; but, especially when facing new and disquieting problems, this capacity and their fair faculty of differentiation, and of more complex organization of thoughts, are at times entirely obscured. Since the Arthur test scores these latter qualities for the most part, it is possible that this factor may have lowered the average I.Q. of western Papago children, who are more dominated by their native culture than the eastern children.

This also explains the low average level of creativity in Papago children according to the Rorschach test. They use imagination for personal control and satisfaction rather than objectifying it. Papago express themselves artistically in singing—the most subjective of all arts, in which the singer projects his feelings more into the rhythm or melody than into clearly formed thoughts—
[533]
[285]
and by basketry the beauty of which is mainly achieved with a strong color contrast of black and white and much less often by a balanced or subtle design. Papago children's originality, as it appears in the Rorschach test, lies chiefly in the strange and quite often unreal quality of their thought content and is usually not accompanied by highly differentiated perception.

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BENEATH THE SURFACE

It is necessary to point out that, in spite of the apparent influence of magical concepts upon their thinking and in spite of their peculiar trend toward withdrawal, Papago children seem to be relatively at ease and undisturbed. If the child's fancies are at times horrifying, anxiety is possibly greatly reduced by recognizing the source of terror as in the area of the supernatural. This mechanism, absolving the individual from responsibility for his own conflicts, probably prevents a lasting traumatic effect upon his personality. It is therefore not surprising that free-floating anxiety is an inconspicuous trait in Papago children, according to the Rorschach test.

The main direct outlet these children have is the strong, natural function of their instinctual drives, including those of sexual nature. Papago culture apparently does not have sexual restrictions other than those regarding married women and young girls, and even these do not seem to be very rigid. Sex itself is not evaluated as "good" or "bad."

Lastly, one peculiar feature of the Rorschach findings may be mentioned, though it is not evident from the average results of the whole group but is an impression which arises only when the individual records are scrutinized: although Papago children's personality patterns show structural simplicity, individual differences are quite marked. Moreover, the records suggest that individuals are exceedingly responsive to formative influences of their direct environment (family constellation and coincidental events). This susceptibility combined with the over-all simplicity of the personality pattern seems to favor pronounced individualization within a limited range of traits, producing a curious effect—as though each individual were a specific reactive type. The reader will get a similar impression from the sketches of eight Papago children included in the Appendix.

The results of the other projective test used in this study—the Thematic Apperception—are to a high degree consistent with those of the Rorschach. This test also found in Papago children a certain lack of personality elaboration, unsophisticated spontaneity, a relatively loose discipline, importance of fantasy life, little anxiety, and unrestricted impulses (particularly sexual impulses).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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Chapter XVIII

PAPAGO SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

157 WHAT are the interpersonal relations of such personalities as we have seen in the previous chapters? Do Papago children develop close emotional ties with specific persons, and to whom are their strongest loyalties directed by training and experience? Some answers to these questions are furnished by the Thematic Apperception, the Emotional Response, and the Moral Ideology tests, which reveal the children's reactions largely within a social setting.

The interpretative statement derived from the results of the Thematic Apperception Test—"the interpersonal contacts are organized on an individualistic basis, and few social cohesions and socially demanded group loyalties exist"[1]—seems to agree very well with what we know of Papago children. But, before we can fully understand its meaning and significance, we will need further explanations and a careful analysis of the attitudes of the children toward various persons in their social environment.

157 571 Answers to the Emotional Response Test show that members of the family, particularly parents, play by far the most conspicuous role in experiences of happiness and the "best thing." The unpleasant emotions of fear, anger, and shame are more prevalently connected with people outside the family group, chiefly represented by the undefined "somebody," "people," or "they."

There is considerable difference between the attitudes of boys and girls, although they named similar emotional experiences (see Table 14.). The boys connect pleasant experiences, as far as the family is concerned, almost exclusively with the father, and they mention nonrelatives quite often. In contrast, the girls associate most of their pleasant emotions with the mother, but they do not concentrate so strongly on her as the boys do on the father. They derive a good deal of pleasure from other members of the family, including the grandparents, the father, and particularly their sisters and brothers. Among

1. William E. Henry, "Notes on Papago Cultural Analysis from Thematic Apperception Test Material" (MS), p. 5.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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nonrelatives, only their age mates play a role, and, on the whole, girls appear more dependent upon the family than boys.

Regarding unpleasant experiences, the difference in reaction between boys and girls is very slight (see Table 15). The parents cause scarcely any negative

TABLE 14

PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH HAPPINESS AND "BEST THING" BY PAPAGO AND BY WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL PERSONS NAMED)*

	PAPAGO			WHITE		
	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Whole family	46	72	59	69	76	74
Father	34	8	21	10	9	10
Mother	4	28	16	15	14	15
Siblings	8	20	14	17	23	20
Age mates	23	24	24	17	18	18
"People"	19	4	12	3	4	4
Teacher	..	..	..	11	2	7

* Data in Tables 14–16 from Robert J. Havighurst, "A Comparison of American Indian Children and White Children by Means of the Emotional Response Test" (165).

TABLE 15

PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH FEAR, ANGER, AND SHAME BY PAPAGO AND BY WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL PERSONS NAMED)*

	PAPAGO			WHITE		
	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Whole family	30	23	27	38	63	52
Father	3	1	2	4	7	6
Mother	3	7	5	13	21	17
Siblings	14	11	13	13	24	19
Age mates	17	18	18	29	14	22
"People"	30	34	32	24	18	21
Teacher	2	3	3	8	6	7
Drunkards	4	9	7	1	3	2

* For source data see Table 14.

feelings. This type of feeling within the family is mainly directed by boys toward their brothers and by girls toward their sisters. In general, whenever Papago children mention specific persons, whether relatives or nonrelatives, they tend to associate them more with positive, pleasure-producing emotions than with negative ones.

Among persons mentioned in connection with frightening experiences, drunken men play an important role, particularly in the minds of girls (see Tables 15 and 16).

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The persons whom the children name in the Moral Ideology Test as praisers or blamers are obviously their usual disciplinarians. This function, too, is fulfilled mainly by the family, leaving little room for disciplinary interference by other people (see Table 17). The boys are inclined to look upon the father as

TABLE 16

PRINCIPAL PERSONS ASSOCIATED WITH FEAR BY PAPAGO AND BY WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL PERSONS NAMED)*

	Papago			White		
	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Whole family	40	14	28	42	71	59
Father	6	..	3	6	9	8
Mother	6	7	7	11	24	18
Siblings	11	..	6	11	23	18
Age mates	..	..	..	32	9	21
"People"	11	14	13	17	12	15
Teacher	6	7	7	6	3	5
Drunkards	11	36	24	3	9	6

* For source data see Table 14.

TABLE 17

PERSONS NAMED AS CHIEF DISCIPLINARIANS BY PAPAGO AND BY WHITE BOYS AND GIRLS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL PERSONS NAMED)*

	Papago			White		
	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Whole family	71	74	73	47	43	45
Father	24	15	19	7	3	5
Mother	20	40	30	15	15	15
Grandparents	5	4	4	..	..	..
Age mates	5	6	5	10	8	9
"Everybody"	9	8	8	12	15	14
Teacher	3	5	4	14	18	16

* Data in Tables 17 and 18 from Robert J. Havighurst, "Comparison of Indian Children and White Children by Means of the Moral Ideology Test" (MS).

judge of their behavior, the girls far more upon the mother; but parents play a greater role as disciplinarians for girls than for boys, who apparently receive a good deal of attention from other family members.

To the boys, the father seems to praise and blame equally, while the girls consider him more frequently as a blamer. However, the mother is seen by boys and girls alike, chiefly as a rewarding agent. Persons not clearly belonging to the family group, i.e., elders, age mates, or just "everybody," are all mentioned, by boys as well as by girls, more often as blamers.

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PAPAGO SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

While the number of persons mentioned in answers to the Emotional Response Test was too small to analyze the results for differences between western and eastern communities, this could safely be done with regard to the disciplinarians named in the Moral Ideology Test. The most important difference between the two districts lies in the much greater attention paid the family by western children, who indeed seem to reserve the right of approval and disapproval almost exclusively to their parents and grandparents (see Table 18). Reward and blame are more evenly distributed than in the East; the father's role as a disciplinarian, particularly as restrictive agent, appears rather strong—even to the girls—and, though grandparents and the mother are mentioned more often as praisers, they, too, are often noted as blamers.

TABLE 18

PERSONS NAMED AS CHIEF DISCIPLINARIANS BY PAPAGO BOYS AND GIRLS OF TWO AREAS (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL PERSONS NAMED)*

	Western Papago			Eastern Papago		
	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Whole family	80	84	82	65	67	66
Father	35	21	28	20	10	15
Mother	30	38	34	13	44	28
Grandparents	5	9	7	5	..	3
Age mates	4	4	4	6	7	7
"Everybody"	4	6	5	14	9	11
Teacher	..	..	..	4	9	6

* For source of data see Table 17.

In the East the father and the grandparents seem to have lost much of their importance as disciplinarians for both boys and girls. Their place, particularly as blamers, has apparently been taken by age mates, by the undefined group of "everybody," and by the teacher. This move away from the family is less evident in eastern girls, who show even more regard for the reassuring, approving role of the mother than western girls. But eastern boys reveal clearly a trend toward detachment from the family, since for them both parents have lost much of their influence. On the whole the impression is that in the East the restrictive functions of the family have been comparatively lessened, while those of assurance and reward have been preserved to some extent.

The results of these two tests confirm the tentative conclusions advanced in previous chapters in which the psychological effects of Papago social organization, child-training, and outlook on life were analyzed. The reader will recall that several times—in discussions of the role of the supernatural, cooperative work, and common disciplinary experiences—it was inferred that

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security and protection felt by children within the family must necessarily be very strong. It seems that for the individual Papago the family constitutes at once the main basis for survival, a major incentive for struggling with life beyond the most elemental individual needs, and the chief haven of refuge from dangers which to a disproportionately high degree are conceived as existing in the extra-familial world.

In Papago society the family is the only stable element on which the individual can rely. Originally it had no serious competitors—no communal institutions, ceremonial systems, or superimposed authoritarian organizations which might have functioned as substitutes toward which the individual could turn for support in times of stress and insecurity, or which might have served as fields of action. Elements of unpredictability and arbitrariness in the supernatural seem to have more psychological significance than the assurance derived from this concept. As previously suggested, this may increase the security and desirability of human companionship, specifically that of one's relatives, whose possible magical power will probably at least be a known quantity. On the other hand, stability of the family, which so completely and permanently fulfils its function of feeding, clothing, and protecting the individual throughout life, even in cases where he cannot or will not co-operate, has not developed to any extent those often concomitant restrictions of direct pressure upon the individual and severe limitations of his freedom of action.

Relations between the individual members of the family are little formalized, despite the relative supremacy of males over females and of age over youth. This principle reserves to the oldest man the right of speaking first but requires him then to listen to the opinion of every member of the household; it leaves decision for action largely to common discussion and agreement; it does not concentrate privileges on one side and duties on the other but distributes them in such a way that they fit organically the natural inclinations of the sex and age of the various individuals.

Such a distribution is psychologically sound. The resentment which may arise in old age from loss of physical ability is compensated by increasing prestige. Surplus energies and emotions which in the young adult and middle-aged man and woman may easily result in aggressive pursuits and self-destructive suffering are to an appreciable extent absorbed by responsibility for and pride in being the chief providers for the family. The child, receiving the greatest share of affection and indulgence, is protected from too great and too early demands on his physical and mental strength. Finally, the esteem, rights, and privileges granted to women because of their childbearing capacity compensate them for the limitation of their sphere of influence and activity.

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In such a setting interpersonal tensions are probably seldom caused by discrepancies and conflicts between social demands and individual inclinations but probably arise generally between individuals of different temperament and character. Children are chiefly trained in loyalties to persons toward whom, as their immediate and earliest sources of gratification and affection, their loyalties naturally tend to develop. As they grow up, they do not have to acquire new ones which may conflict with or obscure the old loyalties.

For the boy, this line of loyalty to those who fed and protected him as a baby may go unbroken through his whole life. The girl who leaves her own family for her husband's household has her loyalties disrupted, but the situation and the roles of various family members in the new home are usually a replica of those she has known. She has to exchange parents for parents-in-law, but whether she succeeds in transferring her loyalties is a matter of personal circumstance and not one of changed social requirements.

Both boys and girls grow up in the certainty that they themselves will some day take over the roles of those to whom as children they are most closely attached. There were in the Papago social system no officially sanctioned aims which were opposed to or superimposed upon becoming a father or a mother. Being a dreamer, a visionary, or a medicine man was not an aim but a compelling gift from the supernatural, and people who received this gift normally combined it with raising a family, using it as source of extra income, just as they do today. The "light woman" and the *berdache* (the man who dressed and behaved like a woman)[2] were relatively rare but socially tolerated deviations from the normal pattern of fatherhood and motherhood, and they were not set up as goals. Even today any other goals than being successful fathers and mothers are importations from an alien culture.

Still another factor which probably eases relationships between parents and children, and particularly the identification of the boy with his father and of the girl with her mother, is the virtual absence of the idea of personal achievement and progress in Papago culture and child-training. The individual child, and each generation of children, is not encouraged to outdo his parents and grandparents but to become like them. This stability of tradition helps eliminate friction and conflicts which occur between parents and children with different aspirations and values.

Thus, among the Papago, identification with the parents is highly desirable, undisturbed, and favored by social conditions. These same conditions which require from the child gradually increasing co-operation modeled exactly after

2. There were no female transvestites (see Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, pp. 86–87).

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157 593 the living and working pattern of adults, particularly of the father and mother, will to a certain degree prevent children from maintaining infantile ties as they grow up. Identification will slowly be guided toward, and become, self-lived reality. Variations in emotional attachment and interpersonal disturbances may be assumed to be based largely on individual experiences and personality constellations within different families.

These conclusions suggested by cultural studies are borne out by the test results obtained from Papago children. In none of the other Indian tribes (or among midwestern white children) are the boys' pleasant emotional references so concentrated around their fathers or the girls' around their mothers. The difference by which pleasant experiences of Papago children with their parents outweigh the unpleasant experiences is the highest found in any tribe except the Navaho. The deep influence exerted by both parents and the high regard which the children have for their discipline are most clearly reflected in the western Papago children's answers to the Moral Ideology Test, which also show the father's relatively greater restrictive power in this moderately patriarchal society.

157 578 593 The only signs of potential hostility toward specific members of the family by an appreciable percentage of Papago children and which therefore may be inherent in Papago social organization are in the children's attitude toward their brothers and sisters, particularly toward those of the same sex. Brothers and sisters are far more often connected with unpleasant emotional experiences than are parents. Especially in incidents which rouse the children's anger and indignation, the difference between the amount of provocation attributed to brothers and sisters, on one hand, and to the parents, on the other, is very striking.

Such results suggest that the rules of seniority may in fact not always be accepted without difficulty and may themselves be an irritating institution. However, the girls relate their sisters at least as often with pleasant as with unpleasant emotions; it is the boys who show hostile feelings more clearly. Quite conceivably they are exposed to uncontrolled pressure from their older brothers while working in the fields in the father's absence, while the girls, staying around the house, are under more constant supervision by their mothers and grandparents. The test results also show that the boys ascribe functions of discipline less to parents and more to various other family members than the girls do. That difference in exposure may indeed influence the relationship between siblings is further supported by the findings that only the boys recall frightening experiences caused by their brothers, while the girls seem to be free from fear of both brothers and sisters.

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The Thematic Apperception Test, too, reveals similar signs of interpersonal disturbances. The interpretation of its results, without differentiating between the attitudes of boys and girls, states that the establishment of a functional relationship between brothers and sisters may be a point of conflict.[3] But this conflict seems to be only temporary and apparently does not hamper adult adjustment.

Papago boys, who have more opportunity for activities and personal contacts outside the family than their sisters, more frequently mention nonrelatives in connection with happy experiences than do the girls, who connect most such experiences with members of the family, their usual companions.

Very little was learned from the tests about the emotional relationship between boys and girls outside the family. The Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception tests reveal on the average only slight sexual anxiety in adolescent children. In the Emotional Response Test, age mates of opposite sex were not mentioned once in connection with pleasant memories, though there was some mention of them when unpleasant occasions were recalled. Boys and girls, but particularly the former, acknowledged being ashamed (i.e., embarrassed) in front of the other sex, and a few boys admitted getting angry at girls. But this is all we learn.

So far as observations and reports indicate, Papago marriages are normally stable. Fidelity of husband and wife seems to be quietly assumed. Courtship and the selection of partners as they take place at present are little restrained by family authority, except in cases of close relatives, as of first cousins, in which event the match is condemned or at least considered undesirable. Romantic love, however, is not one of the important concepts and values in Papago culture. The emotional value of the relationship between man and woman seems to be viewed almost entirely from the aspect of their adjustment to the Papago ideal of family unity: husband and wife are considered enviably happy if they have many living and healthy children, if they are industrious, and if they co-operate peacefully and harmoniously with each other and with the rest of the family. Mutual loyal attachment apparently is conceived and officially sanctioned as growing out of just this active participation in and adjustment to the physical and spiritual needs of the family group and not as developing from the perpetuation of two people's passion. A marriage based mainly upon these values is likely to remain stable and relatively undisturbed, even when there are extramarital sex relations.

Boys' premarital love affairs are considered natural and may be an occasion for joking and teasing on the part of adult relatives; but, if the affair appears

3. Henry, op. cit., p. 3.

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157 836 to be a prelude to marriage, it may concern parents if the partners are unsuitable. For girls to have casual affairs before marriage is not the ideal pattern, but it is not deemed a bar to honorable marriage later on. As an *emotional* condition, a love affair has no cultural value. It is not a situation to be admired or condemned, to talk or make songs about, but a private affair of the lovers with a generally acknowledged value only if it is incorporated into a family group.

157 571 How far the whole complex of Papago magical thinking, of fears of the supernatural, and of the corresponding trend to retire into dreamlike seclusion may constitute a cultural reaction to specific difficulties in interpersonal relations cannot be inferred from the results of the tests. No general and clearly directed hostilities have come to light in the answers obtained from Papago children, except the rather mild conflicts between siblings of the same sex. Considering the slight formalization of the magico-supernatural complex, which at the individual's will may or may not be evoked for the instant's need, it seems likely to be at once the reaction of man to the numerous threats and dangers found in this particular desert life and to individually varying tensions arising from close and necessarily family-bound interpersonal contacts. Only a careful exploration of the numerous symbols and manifestations of the supernatural and their interpretation by the Papago themselves, as well as a psychological study done with the same objective, could give us a clear answer. Such methods might reveal, for instance, the psychological significance of the old Papago custom (which is still practiced in some families) of strictly segregating girls and women during the menstrual period because of their alleged power of evil and destruction at that time. With our present limited knowledge, we cannot say how far this custom is an integral part of the ancient magical fear of death and blood and how far it may, for instance, have developed as a social device for the psychological management of women and for the conservation of men's working and fighting strength through periodic sexual restrictions. It can, however, be noted from the Emotional Response Test that present-day Papago boys do not connect frightening experiences with girls, be they sisters or age mates.

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177 caught by the re-evaluation of their concepts of life may be indicated briefly
578 as follows:

1. They have been taught for ages the principles of co-operative family organization and have experienced its satisfactory functioning, which implies the
● 157 reliance of everyone on everyone else, the condemnation of individual aims
177 which might disturb this organization, and a corresponding modesty and
578 inconspicuousness whenever the individual finds himself in a group situation.

White people, on the other hand, teach them by model and by implication that the individual should try to become more industrious, more clever, stronger, and in every way better than his next of kin and his neighbor; that his talents and aspirations are more important than the welfare of his family. The Papago sees that the one who has the best knowledge of English, who is quick in stating his requirements, and immodest (according to Papago rules) in his approach will have advantages denied to those who behave according to Papago custom. They observe that they are judged constantly by standards which put brother above brother, son above father, according to personal achievement. In school, the child who speaks up boldly is praised; the one who does another child's task for him is blamed. On the whole, competition and personal achievement are stimulated and encouraged much more than co-operation (as understood by the Papago).

2. White concepts of the acquisition and accumulation of personal property
157 for prestige and power are strange to the Papago, to whom personal prop-
556 erty consisted of a few objects for wear and use which were destroyed at his
177 death. Prestige and power came from the wisdom of age and experience or from grace given by the supernatural.

Today the value of personal property is clearly demonstrated by white people in their display of clothes, furniture, and cars, in the way they spend money at the trader's, in the esteem and praise they give the Papago family with greater means of subsistence than others. The restrictive aspects of property have been demonstrated by mission and school, which accent the sanctity of personal property and the wickedness of stealing, and by government's measures to apportion and guard grazing land by districts. The value of personal property is being inculcated into the Papago by the insistent inquisitiveness of administrative employees about exactly what belongs to whom and why, and who has the right to sell a specific cow and who has not. Finally, it has been brought home to them as pay for their labor—individual wages in money for individual work, to be spent by the receiver at his own will, automatically make him the master of his property, while

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previously the Papago had known almost exclusively common payment in kind for common effort.

3. Among the Papago, authority lay chiefly in the family, not only during childhood but throughout life. Authority was conceived as growing with age and with increasing responsibility for descendants. The old men in the village council reflected only the family situation to the younger ones, who had the assurance that slowly and gradually they too would gain those privileges which were denied to them in youth.

With the advent of white civilization new symbols and representatives of authority have appeared and demanded their share of attention and recognition from the Papago. Among them are the Catholic fathers and brothers of the Franciscan Order and the men and women of the Presbyterian Mission. The functions of the Christian clergy may not be considered by the Papago very different from those of their medicine men. But, while the medicine men exert their influence exclusively upon relationships between man and the supernatural and all their active interest in temporal matters is indirect and must go through the filter of supernatural and magical concepts, the clergy have included within their sphere of direct influence such matters of morality as had previously been the concern of the Papago family.

Representatives of the white administration, whether visiting officials or members of the Agency established on the Reservation, are just that many more completely new additions to the Papago pattern of authority. They do not offer any points of comparison to either the grandparents or parents, the medicine man, or the old men of the village councils. In bewildering contrast, most of the new representatives are relatively young men and women, who rarely remain among the Papago long enough to demonstrate the gradual growth in experience and wisdom which the Papago always required from those to whom they granted authority. Their sphere of influence, as it is concerned with organizational and economic questions, with education and with health, cuts clearly across the old sphere of the family.

Teachers, the majority of whom are women, have become new disciplinarians for the children. Their principles and objectives of training not only cover different areas of knowledge but also are often in discrepancy with teachings received at home. The discrepancy may be fundamental—as, for instance, regarding the favorable evaluation of competition—or it may represent a change of emphasis upon specific attitudes, as in the case of the very high value given to certain rules of hygiene in school, which often must seem to the children an implicit criticism of home conditions.

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157 177 Thus, all the new representatives of authority are or may become serious rivals of the family. Offering aims and ideals different from or even contradictory to those of Papago society and culture, they are not, at least at present, models whose authoritative position may be aspired to or achieved by any appreciable number of the Papago. This factor considerably strengthens the impression that these representatives are clearly and hopelessly superimposed from outside.

157 177 858 4. Old Papago institutions are being threatened not only by new authorities which white culture has introduced but also by changes in the position of Papago children and young people brought about by the introduction of white institutions and practices. Education of children in schools rather than in homes is increasingly breaking the continuity of experience and common sharing between adults and children. It implies a new concept of childhood as a prolonged, and at the same time sharply delimited, period of preparation for adulthood. In addition to segregating children from adults over many hours of the day or months of the year, the school teaches skills such as arithmetic and a knowledge of English, which have little bearing on the common life of the Papago but are all-important for dealing with the alien culture. Thus the school experience in itself and the content of teaching tend to produce a cleavage between children and adults.

The relation of young adults to their elders is also being changed by what they have learned in school. Young people with initiative and some knowledge of the language and customs of whites are rapidly advancing to positions of importance in tribal matters. Furthermore, many of the young men and women seek wage jobs which make them independent of the family, and all wage-earners are paid on the basis of individual performance rather than for the work of a group. Both the rapidity of "political" advancement and competitive wage-earning weaken the Papago principles of gradual maturation into privileges and position and of the distribution of roles according to the physiological needs and interests of different age groups.

157 177 813 5. Another concept deeply rooted in Papago culture is belief in supernatural influences, which projects intention into coincidence, correlates the unrelated, removes the barriers of space and time, and humanizes nonhuman objects and manifestations. Against this belief is now placed the Western concept of cause and effect which, on the one hand, relieves man from being simultaneously the fear-stricken victim and the unlimited master of the supernatural and, on the other hand, limits and strengthens the immediate efficiency of his power of action.

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6. A moral law based on complete adjustment to the society that has developed it is being confronted with a morality of personal goodness and badness which does not necessarily coincide with such adjustment and may demand from the individual attitudes and reactions opposed to it. With this goes a far-reaching re-evaluation of the very meaning of goodness and badness in the religious sphere and in that of interpersonal relations.

These are the main areas in which the Papago have been exposed to influences and pressures of an alien society and alien culture. It will easily be seen that all these areas are closely interrelated and that efforts to make changes in them are in effect attacks upon the totality of Papago life.

The fact that the people who carry the extremely complex white culture to the Papago country are recruited from different classes, with greatly divergent backgrounds, reactions, attitudes, and aims, certainly does not lend persuasive strength to force.

The Papago, accustomed to the relative simplicity and consistency of his own patterns of life, soon discovers that accepting the concepts of modern American civilization at face value, as they are taught to him in mission and school, throws him into conflict not only with his own culture but even with many practical demands and aspects of white civilization.

For example, the superintendent of the Agency and the teacher tell him that alcohol is forbidden, harmful, and bad; the innkeeper in town, disregarding laws or scoffing at them, offers him drinks; the white drunkards he meets encourage him to follow their example. The missionaries of both churches teach him brotherly love and the merits of purehearted poverty; but some whites may scorn him as a "dirty and primitive" Indian, and others openly demonstrate the satisfactions and power of wealth. Still other whites complain to him about the injustices they themselves have to suffer from the laws he is asked to admire. The priest points to the miracles of healing through faith in God, and the doctor insists that sickness is a matter of hygiene and "bugs," to be cured through hospitalization and sulfa drugs. Because to a minority group every member of an encroaching majority has a certain authority merely through belonging to the dominant group, independent of any personal qualifications, all these people will represent to the Papago so many models of white civilization.

What to believe and whom to trust are much more crucial difficulties to the Papago than to white people, who are conditioned to accept the intricacies and inconsistencies of their culture as normal and make a distinction between

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157 177 those persons whom they believe to be representative models of their culture and those whom they consider atypical.[1]

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN ACCULTURATION

177 184 In a group spread thinly over so large an area as the Papago Reservation, white influence will vary greatly. Some of the test findings from western and eastern Papago children show that the pressure upon Papago society differs in extent and direction in different districts.

In the West it has been limited largely to economic factors, combined with casual influences to which the Papago visitor or temporary laborer in town is subjected or which he may easily observe; these influences are relatively free from elements of planned and direct indoctrination. Western Papago, who are mostly Sonora Catholics, have infrequent contacts with the Roman Catholic or Presbyterian clergy. Their children usually attend school intermittently. The government Agency is over fifty miles away, and relations with officials have been comparatively tenuous.

In the East, on the other hand, alien economic elements, missions, schools, and government operate with considerable strength. Here the direct influence of indoctrination upon Papago ways of life is more intense, more systematically planned, and much more constant than in the West.

157 177 184 One of the tests in the present study—the Free Drawings—was used to determine how far material attributes of white culture have taken root in the minds of Papago children.[2] If the appearance in the children's drawings of items from white civilization, such as airplanes, automobiles, and school buildings, were adopted as an index of over-all adjustment to white culture, the conclusion would be that western Papago children are not only more acculturated than those of the eastern districts but also the most acculturated of all the Indian children tested in this project. In the light of facts easily observable as to actual conditions of life in eastern and western Papago areas and in various other tribes studied, such a conclusion cannot possibly stand. However, integrated with findings from other tests, the psychological significance of the Free Drawings is convincingly clear and comprehensible.

It will be recalled that the western Papago children showed in their other tests emotional experiences, concepts of right and wrong, and basic reaction

1. One Papago in a sardonic mood remarked that a good deal of time and money have been spent in explaining the Papago to the whites. What is needed, he said, is some effort to explain the whites and their ways of thought to the Papago, for to most of them white manners, customs, and ways of thinking are a closed book.

2. See Brooke Mordy, "Content Analysis of Indian Children's Drawings: A Method for Comparing Culture and Degree of Material Acculturation" (MS).

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patterns which corresponded closely to the conditions of life and general attitudes observable in their communities. Their only conspicuous symptom of a trend toward acculturation lay in responses indicating the relatively great importance of property and money. The reader will also recall from the other tests that it was the boys of the western communities who placed the heavy emphasis on the value of money and property. The Free Drawings of the western boys included many more white items than did those of eastern boys. At the same time, however, western children also drew more specifically native items than the eastern children (see Table 19).

All these findings suggest that the western area, though conserving the social organization and cultural values of the old Papago pattern, has been caught by

TABLE 19

TYPES OF ITEMS SHOWN IN FREE DRAWINGS BY PAPAGO CHILDREN OF TWO AREAS (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)*

	Western Papago			Eastern Papago		
Types of Items	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Recent white derivatives	49	35	42	22	25	23
Early white derivatives†	5	8	7	9	7	8
Native	16	21	19	11	15	13
Landscapes	30	36	32	58	53	55

* Data from Brooke Mordy, "Content Analysis of Indian Children's Drawings: A Method for Comparing Culture and Degree of Material Acculturation" (MS).

† These are items derived from the Spaniards, such as domestic animals, which have been a part of Papago life for so long that they are thought of as Papago.

and is responding freely to the economic and purely material advantages of white American culture. New economic experiences have not yet essentially changed the western Papago's pattern of living. Work in the Ajo mine, the principal form of wage work known to the western area, has always been intermittent. If the worker does not take his family with him to Ajo, they carry on their normal life at home, just as the worker himself does between jobs in the mine. The other source of wages—work in the cotton fields—has only recently become important in Papago economy, and it allows a close replica of the old Papago pattern: family labor, co-operation, and the sharing of experience.

But, though the new economic experiences have not yet altered the basic life-patterns of the western area, they may have disruptive effects. It is the men who work in the mines; and in the cotton fields wages are customarily paid to the male head of the family for work done by all its members. These facts, together with the boys' realization that they will be the chief earners, keepers, and spenders of the family income (apparent from the importance they attach

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to it), threaten to reallocate the roles, the relative independence, and the authority of the sexes to the disadvantage of the women. Another potentially harmful aspect of cash wages is their easy convertability into liquor. The concern of western Papago children (particularly girls) over drunkenness, which is greater than that of eastern children (and indeed considerably greater than that of any other Indian children or of midwestern white children), indicates the western Papago's awareness of this problem and confirms reports and observations of excessive drinking in their districts.

Eastern children are different in some respects. In their Free Drawings the eastern children—boys and girls alike—show fewer native items than the western children, as well as fewer objects from white culture. Both sexes prefer to depict landscapes, which, being noncultural in character, do not involve commitments to either the Papago or the white way of life.

Reviewing briefly the results of the other tests, the eastern children, in comparison with those from the West, show: (1) fewer associations of family members with emotional experiences and discipline, and the attachment of more importance in these respects to nonrelatives, particularly age mates; (2) less emphasis on the parent as disciplinarian for boys and on the father's disciplinary role for girls; (3) a lower moral evaluation of family co-operation and work; (4) more frequent mention of experiences and attitudes connected with personal achievement and with aggression; and (5) with regard to the basic reaction pattern, less tendency to interpret reality subjectively, without reduction of the trend toward withdrawal, which is beginning to appear as an established introversion instead of an intermittent reaction.

These combined findings suggest that eastern children, who are more influenced by white American culture than the western Papago, are undergoing a psychological acculturation which is correspondingly deeper and more extensive. It is obvious that the findings reflect the influences of white culture and are not due to primarily intratribal differences between the western and eastern areas, for the decrease of values which (according to anthropological evidence) are elements of the aboriginal Papago culture is accompanied by an increase in concepts clearly belonging to white American culture. A good job, schoolteachers, missions, going to heaven or hell—all are such concepts of unequivocal significance. Thus the comparatively little attention given in eastern children's drawings to objects of white material culture is not indicative of a low degree of acculturation but a sign that in the East the weight of importance and interest is no longer laid primarily on material aspects of the new culture.

Though the eastern acculturation pattern is so much more complex, it does

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not show the incongruities of the western, which clearly point to certain potential personality disturbances. Disintegration of Papago *culture*, numerous signs of which appeared in the test results of the eastern communities, is not necessarily accompanied by *personality* disintegration, if the old values have been supplanted by new ones which produce security. The tests suggest that a new set of values grouped around the principles and the institutions of the two missionary churches, and, to a lesser degree, of the school, is being assimilated by the eastern children—in short, that a fast-developing economic acculturation is about to be balanced by a growing spiritual acculturation.

THE PAPAGO AND THE FUTURE

This situation augurs well for the future adjustment of the Papago. Such optimism, though it must remain guarded, is strengthened by the attitudes of eastern adult Papago toward the alien culture and by certain sociopsychological considerations.

Papago adults increasingly accept the values of personal achievement and personal property. They show more and more interest in matters of school education and of tribal (in addition to village) organization; they participate eagerly in the ritual and accept the moral laws promulgated by the two missionary groups.

What are the reasons for this ready acceptance of alien principles, which distinguishes the Papago from many other Indian tribes and gives promise of their increasing adjustment to American ways of life?

In the first place, the Papago do not have in their history a tradition of hostilities with white people. They have no equivalent of the Navaho imprisonment at Fort Sumner or the massacre of the Sioux at Wounded Knee. Their contacts with whites in the historic past were short-lived and friendly. Father Kino and the other early Spanish missionaries came to the desert like guests who stayed only a short time and left hope for the afterlife, precious gifts, and a memory of kindness. Apparently, the few institutions introduced in the name of the Spanish crown were only halfheartedly maintained by the infrequent visits of officials. Later, under the regime of the United States, the desert still protected the Papago from too great pressure and molestation by whites. Papago and whites sometimes united in common defense against the raiding Apache. The establishment of the Reservation and with it permanent direct contacts with white people occurred so late that the Papago escaped the drastic pressures of the early period of Indian Bureau administration, with its compulsory segregation of Indian children in boarding schools, its dissipation of tribal resources through the allotment policy, and its general disregard for the

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human dignity and the cultural rights of Indians. We may say therefore that the Papago have experienced the more favorable side of American domination as have few other tribes.

Furthermore, Papago culture and its institutions, as we have seen, have been so little formalized and so loosely knit that alien forms and institutions did not destroy a highly organized, elaborated system, causing deep resentment and actively challenging attitudes, detrimental to a wholesome and balanced development of personalities. At the same time, Papago culture itself has elements favorable to acculturation because they are similar to, or at least not in violent contrast to, white concepts. These are dominant family loyalty, a moderate patriarchal trend, the institution of local councils which show a certain similarity to American ways of democratically handling a group, and religious beliefs which, in their magical nature, have not crystallized into definite images and symbols conspicuously opposed to those of Christianity.

However, all these elements can be considered as favorable to acculturation only in comparison with those obviously unfavorable in certain other Indian cultures—e.g., in comparison with traditions of Indian-white hostilities, dominant clan organization, matriarchal trends, theocratic institutions, and a religious system tied to visibly represented images. Discrepancies between the values of Papago culture and those of white American civilization are potentially demoralizing; and, while there are prospects of a constructive solution, much will depend upon whether the new values offered to the Papago are acceptable to them and will prove to be reliable sources of security.

Except for drunkenness, concern about which is less pronounced than among the western Papago, we do not observe in the test results obtained from eastern children any clear signs of general personality disintegration or maladjustment. There is, however, the previously mentioned pattern of changing reactions; whether they indicate constructive or destructive influences on Papago personalities cannot be determined at this stage. At the present time, family loyalty and the positive evaluation of co-operation and work remain very high indeed, but not so high as in the West. Though the rise of aggression may easily become a symptom of dissatisfaction, it is still not so conspicuous or so general that it could not be guided toward aims of personal achievement. On the other hand, individualism and the drive for personal achievement probably are not yet sufficiently developed to supply strength and support in tryingly adverse circumstances.

Papago plasticity may be an important factor in the struggle between the two cultures. This plasticity is in part a deceptive reflection of Papago evasive tendencies which may cause lack of open resistance to be mistaken for com-

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pliance. Partly, however, it seems to be the genuine trait of a people forced to adapt to conditions of scarcity within a vast desert area; of a people who, instead of strongly defending what they have, are constantly on the lookout for new opportunities.

How far this genuine plasticity may be an essential element of Papago personalities is hinted at by certain differences in the basic reaction patterns revealed in the Rorschach test of the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic children in the eastern districts. The two tested groups were rather small, including only forty-one and twenty-nine children, respectively; hence the test results must be evaluated with great caution and considered only as a suggestive basis for more thorough research. Still, differences between the groups are striking enough to justify mention here. They concern mainly the areas of emotional control and of the defense mechanisms used in periods of stress and insecurity.

Presbyterian children on the average appeared strictly to control and even to repress their emotions. They showed a pronounced trend toward withdrawal into themselves, giving a picture of established introversion. Roman Catholic children revealed instead on the average a high degree of impulsiveness and a tendency toward emotional outbreaks. Thus, in comparison with the reaction pattern of western Papago children, both Presbyterian and Roman Catholic children of the eastern districts showed deviations in self-discipline—an increase of its conscious and internalized use among the Presbyterian children and a certain incapacity for controlling their impulses among the Roman Catholics.

Whether and how far such differences are due to specific influences of the doctrines and educational methods of the two missionary groups is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine clearly, but there seems to be a certain congruency between the psychological patterns and the doctrines and methods. Presbyterians emphasize a personal conscience and strictly individual moral responsibility. As observed on the Papago Reservation at the time of the study, they combine a definite regard for family discipline and authority with a constant, detailed, and direct checking system, mutually employed by church members and missionaries. The Catholic missionary's approach to the Papago accentuates ritual observance and acceptance on faith of transcendental concepts and complex symbols far removed from native comprehension except by intuition. Though the clergy refrain from everyday contacts and interference with the people, they appear to laymen as representatives of a powerful hierarchy who in all their relations with the Papago maintain the claim of unquestionable religious authority.

In the process of acculturation both doctrines and methods have shown their

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157 177 797 strength and their acceptability for the Papago, who receive from one a firm religious foundation for their patriarchal family life of hard work and cooperation, and from the other a magnificent exaltation of their own beliefs in grace and magic. Whatever insecurity the Presbyterian teachings may have caused probably center in the unaccustomed direct pressure and in the strict religious and moral exclusionism which might result in a relative loss of spontaneity, in introversion, and in constriction. Catholic teachings might produce emotional instability through the bewildering necessity for the Papago to combine what he feels as a heightening and deepening of his visionary tendencies with new principles of obedience and authority which formalize and generalize his purely personal experience.

157 177 Based on the results of one test only and on relatively small groups of children, these statements are largely speculative. But even if they be disregarded on this account, the integration of all the test results with the attitudes observed in present-day Papago life gives one main impression of Papago children: They are characterized by a high capacity for absorption of alien values and forms of life and, at the same time, by an almost equally high tendency to evade clear-cut commitments. Both traits have grown from the specific background of Papago culture, and together they constitute a combination which may be conducive to the survival of the Papago minority and its future adjustment to white American civilization. Papago evasiveness, though often a cause of despair for the white administrator who would like to speed up acculturation, apparently does not serve as a barrier to acculturation but acts rather as a cushion against destructive pressure, slowing the revolutionary process into one of gradual assimilation. This leaves time and opportunity for the development of the necessary psychological equivalents to socioeconomic changes.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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302 The men frequently have slight moustaches. At [142] present the men all have their hair cut short, but a lux- [832] uriant growth was formerly considered a standard of [824] beauty. It was occasionally washed with an infusion from the roots of a vine called *ádofi*. Sometimes these [751] natives would plaster the head with clay, to kill parasites and ensure a better growth of hair. The women still take great care of this ornament to their persons and are often seen brushing it with brushes made from the roots of sacaton grass. With the children, it is cut so that it may grow strong, and the cut hair is twisted into a cord which is used in tying together parts of the burden basket as well as in the tying of the saddle-bag. Formerly the custom was to leave the children's hair long on top of the head, back of the neck, and in front [149] of each ear. I saw a left-handed man and a left-handed woman in the tribe. If it be permissible to draw any [513] general conclusions from the sound sleep of my companion, Pablo, these natives sleep unusually soundly. One morning, while he was with me, he woke up several yards below his bedding, having rolled down a declivity during the night in his sleep. The Papago avoid eating [208] food hot from the fire.

157 They possess much force and stability of character, are quick of perception, loyal to the white man that they like, and if in danger do not cry for help. Under her natural bashfulness the woman hides sterling qualities of efficiency in household work, constancy, and faithful adherence to duty. These Indians are industrious and have a remarkably even temper; thirty children